1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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512 224 until they come upon the animal feeding. In former days much skill was required to creep noiselessly through the jungle until they were sufficiently near either to discharge an arrow, or, if the jungle were more open, to rush in upon the animal shouting and shoot it before it could escape. At the present day it is the dogs that scent out the pig and bring it to bay, when the natives shoot it with their arrows.

512 252 When a pig has been killed it may be tied up and carried to the camp on the shoulders of one of the hunters, or a fire may be lighted then and there and the pig eviscerated and roasted. A cut is made in the abdomen and the viscera removed. The cavity is filled with leaves, the joints of the legs are half severed and the carcase is placed on the fire and turned over and shifted until every part is evenly roasted. It is then removed from the fire, the burnt skin is scraped clean and the meat is cut up. Meanwhile the intestines or some of the internal organs are cooked and eaten by the hunters. The meat is tied up in leaves and is carried to the camp. If the pig be carried home whole the process of roasting it and cutting it up is performed in exactly the same way at the public cooking place of the camp, the meat being distributed only after it has been thus partially cooked.

512 223 If the hunting party should come across a civet cat (*Paradoxurus*) or a monitor lizard they would endeavour to kill it[1], but the main object of every hunting party is to obtain pork. Snakes and even rats are killed and eaten. Birds, though plentiful in the islands, are not often obtained, for the density of the jungle and the height of the trees in which the birds conceal themselves, make it very difficult for the natives to shoot them with their bows and arrows. A man does not care to risk the loss of his arrow in a chance shot at a bird. The Andamanese do not trap either birds or animals, though some of the birds, particularly the rail, might be very easily caught in traps.

512 222 As the hunting party traverses the forest they may come across roots or fruits or seeds, or wild honey, and these are collected and carried home. In the rainy season only small

[1] They are only eaten in the rainy season.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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combs of black honey are to be found[1], and these are generally consumed by the hunters on the spot.

The provision of the vegetable food of the community is the work of the women, who must also supply the camp with firewood and water. While the men are away hunting the women, attended by the children, cut and carry the firewood, and either remain in the camp making baskets or nets or other objects, or else go into the forest to look for fruits and seeds. Thus by midday the camp may be quite deserted, save perhaps for one or two old men and women, and a few of the children.

In the afternoon the women return with what food they have obtained and then the men come in with their provision. The camp, unless the hunters have been unsuccessful, is then busy with the preparation of the evening meal, which is the chief meal of the day. If a pig has been brought home whole it is cooked at the public cooking place and is then cut up. The meat is distributed amongst the members of the community and the woman of each family then proceeds to cook the family meal. The pork, after it has been roasted and cut up, is further cooked by being boiled. The family meal is prepared at the fire that each family has in its hut. The meal is a family one, partaken by a man and his wife and children. The bachelors cook and eat their own meal, and the unmarried women also eat by themselves.

After the meal is over, darkness having by this time fallen, the men may spend an hour or two in dancing to the accompaniment of a song sung by one of them with the help of a chorus of women. In that case they would probably eat another meal after the dance was over. Another favourite amusement for the evening is what may be called "yarning." A man sits down with a few listeners and tells them, with few words, and with many dramatic gestures, how he killed a pig. The same man may go on with tale after tale, till, by the time he finishes he has killed twenty or thirty pigs. Finally the whole camp retires to rest and nothing

[1] There are two kinds of wild bee in the Andamans. A small species makes black honeycombs in hollow trees, and these may be found at any time of the year. A larger species of bee builds white combs suspended from the underside of branches in tall trees. Such combs are found in abundance only in the hot season, and not at all in the middle of the rainy season.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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is to be seen but the dim light of the little fires burning in each hut or in each of the family quarters. 512

On a day when there is plenty of food left from the day before, or on a day of stormy weather even when food is not too plentiful, the men may remain in camp instead of going hunting. They busy themselves with making weapons and implements, such as bows, arrows, adzes, etc.

On occasions when game is not very plentiful a party of hunters may stay away from the camp for a few days, not returning till they have been successful in obtaining a fair supply of food. The women and children and old men, with perhaps a few of the able bodied men also, remain at home and provide for themselves as well as they can, the women devoting their time to collecting what vegetable foods are in season.

At the end of the rainy season there comes a brief period of unsettled weather, called by the natives of the North Andaman *Kimil*, and by those of the South, *Gumul*. During this season some of the vegetable foods begin to be available, though not in any quantities. At this time of the year the natives are able to obtain and feast upon what they regard as great delicacies, the larvae of the cicada and of the great capricornis beetle. The cool season, when fruits and roots are plentiful, begins at the end of November. The forest dwellers leave their main encampment during this season. Some of them go off to pay visits to their friends of other local groups. Such visits may last two or three months. Those who remain occupy temporary camps in convenient places. The men join the women in looking for roots and fruits, and do not spend so much of their time in hunting. Some of the men visit the main camp at intervals of a few days to see that it is all right. As the cool season gives way to the hot season (March to May) honey begins to be plentiful. At that time hunting for pig is almost abandoned. The pigs are in poor condition, and even when one is killed it is often left in the jungle by the natives as not being good enough to eat. On the other hand everyone is busy collecting honey. This is work in which both men and women join, though it is the men who climb up the trees and cut down the honeycomb. The natives have no means of keeping the honey for more than

221 262 [574] 221 222 262 [462]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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a very short time, as it rapidly ferments.[1] While it is plentiful they almost live on it, supplementing it with roots and fruits and with fish, if they are near a creek. Towards the end of the hot season the fruit of the *Artocarpus chaplasha*, which is a favourite food of the natives, becomes ripe. The men and women, at this time, spend much of their time collecting the fruit. When it is collected the fruit is broken open and each of the seeds is sucked to obtain the juicy pulp or aril with which it is surrounded, and which has a very pleasant taste. The seeds are then partly boiled and are buried in the ground to remain there for a few weeks, when they will be dug up again and cooked and eaten. Any natives who may have been away from home on a visit, return before the *Artocarpus* comes into fruit in order to take their share in collecting it and providing a supply of the seeds for consumption in the rainy season. The natives then return to the headquarters camp and make any necessary repairs to the hut in preparation for the rainy season, which begins about the middle of May.

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The coast-dwellers are not quite so much influenced by the seasons as the forest-dwellers. They can fish and collect molluscs all the year round. In the rainy season they divide their time between hunting pig in the forest and fishing or turtle hunting. They do not need, however, to remain at the same camp during the whole of the rainy season, but after a month or two at one place can move to what they hope to find better hunting grounds. During the cool and hot seasons they pay visits to one another. In the fine weather the men often go off on turtle-hunting expeditions for several days, leaving the women and children and older men in the village, where they provide for themselves with vegetable food and with fish and molluscs from the reefs.

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It is during the fine weather that there take place the meetings of two or more local groups that are an important feature of the social life of the Andaman Islanders. These meetings will be described later in the present chapter.

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Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the natives have need of nothing save their weapons and implements. Of these each person makes his own, each man making his

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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227 226 fishing, although they say that they formerly did so. They have no fish hooks and no fish traps. At the present time a few of the natives have learnt to take fish with hook and line, but they are unable to make hooks for themselves, and have to obtain them from the Settlement at Port Blair.

222 412 In collecting roots a digging stick is used, and a hooked pole is used for gathering fruit, but they have no other special implements in use in collecting natural productions, and have no need of any. The adze is used for obtaining molluscs and for cutting honey-combs from hollow trees.

411 It is thus clear that by far the most important utensil of the Andamanese is the bow and arrow. We may say that they are essentially a bow and arrow people. This is even more true of the natives of the Little Andaman Division than of those of the Great Andaman Division.

It may be noted here that the Andamanese have no weapons that are used only for fighting. They fight with their chief hunting weapon, the bow and arrow. Nor have they any special defensive weapons, the shield being unknown.

171 The Semang in their natural condition depend for their subsistence on collecting roots and fruits from the forest, on catching fish in the streams, and on hunting animals. Their mode of subsistence is thus essentially the same as that of the Andamanese. One difference is that they have not the sea from which to draw supplies, and another is that the forests in which they live afford a much larger variety of game. A number of the Semang now practice a little rude agriculture which they have undoubtedly adopted in imitation of their neighbours of other races[1].

The principal weapon of the Semang, as of the Andamanese, is the bow and arrow. In hunting they also use spears[2], thus showing a difference from the Andamanese. Some of the Semang make use of the blow-pipe with poisoned darts, but it is practically certain that they have adopted the use of this weapon from their neighbours the Sakai[3]. They also make use to some extent of traps with which to capture jungle animals and birds. The wilder Semang living in the mountains have little opportunity of obtaining fish. Those of them that dwell near rivers use fish-spears and harpoons for catching large fish, and a small basket-work scoop for catching small fry[4]. They also fish with

[1] Skeat, p. 341.
[2] Skeat, p. 270.
[3] Skeat, p. 280.
[4] Skeat, p. 205.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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412 Bamboo tongs are made by bending double a piece split from a bamboo, and cutting the ends to the required shape. They are used for lifting from the fire anything too hot to be taken in the hand and are chiefly of service in cooking.

Digging sticks are made from various kinds of wood, being simply pointed at one or both ends. These sticks are not as a rule preserved, but made as required with an adze and thrown away after use. They are used for digging up edible roots.

222 227 Hooks for picking fruit, such as the *Artocarpus*, are made by attaching a small piece of wood to the end of a bamboo. Hooks for catching crabs are made from the wood of the *Rhizophora* by taking advantage of the natural form where a small branch joins a larger one.

352 824 The fan-shaped leaf of a *Licuala* palm is made use of in many ways. The edges of the leaflets are sewn together with fine strips of cane, and the sewn leaf is then used either as a sunshade or umbrella for protection from sunshine or rain, as a sleeping mat if the proper article be lacking, as a screen to make the roof or sides of a hut more wind or rain proof, as a wrapper for making objects of all sorts into bundles, and as a winding sheet for a corpse.

373 Torches are made from resin, which is broken into small pieces and wrapped up in leaves of a species of *Crinum* (? *lorifolium*), a few pieces of smouldering charcoal being added before it is tied up. The torch is then parcelled by marling with a strip of cane or a length of some tough creeper These resin torches are used in turtle-hunting and fishing expeditions on dark nights.

Other torches are made of fragments of rotten *Dipterocarpus* wood. They are used only in the village.

PERSONAL ORNAMENT; GREAT ANDAMAN.

291 At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division obtain from the Settlement of Port Blair cloth which both men and women wear round the loins. They also obtain beads from which they make necklaces.

The following is a list of the various personal ornaments made by the natives of the Great Andaman Division, and worn by them.

Rope girdle. Every man wears some sort of girdle round his waist, and this was formerly the only object that was constantly worn by men. The girdle may consist of a length of rope of *Hibiscus* fibre or a length of ornamental cord made by wrapping the yellow skin of

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such, not because they find any difficulty in procuring other food.[1]

3. Both *àryó to-* and *ē·rem-tá·ga-* find ample[2] provisions for their simple wants in their immediate surroundings, without exerting themselves to any great extent, and their eagerness in the chase is induced almost as much by actual love of sport as by the necessity of obtaining food: were this not the case they would hardly be found spending so much time in dancing and singing, in personal decorations, and in the preparation of their meals, while they reject with aversion anything that has become at all tainted. Further, it may be fairly estimated that one-third of the food daily consumed by them consists of edible roots, fruits, and honey, and the remaining portion of the flesh of one or more of the following, viz.: pig, paradoxurus,[3] iguana, turtle, fish, and molluscs, with rare additions of pigeons and jungle fowls;[4] Flying-foxes, bats, rats, sea- (not land-) snakes, the larvæ of the Great Capricornis beetle (*Cerambyx heros*) called *òi·yum-*,[5] as well as two other insects, called *bū·tu-* and *pī·rigi-*,[6] are, it is true, also eaten, but they are partaken of by way of variety, and the latter are regarded as luxuries (*á·kà-rá·rnga-*, tid-bits) to supplement (not substitute) other fare.[7]

4. The Andamanese are nominally content with two meals a day, viz.: breakfast (*á·kà-ná·-*) and a heavy supper (*á·kan-go·lajnga-*) after sun-down; they will, however, often help themselves to small quantities of food from time to time in the course of the day when engaged on any work; and, when leaving on a

[1] "It cannot be wondered at that these savages love the unfettered life of their own wild jungles, where their simple wants are easily supplied—a lean-to serving them for quarters, and food such as they are accustomed to being found in great abundance. Nothing comes amiss to an Andamanese maw; roots, wild fruits, berries, crabs, clams, fish, wild pigs, and turtle are all ravenously devoured, and a glance at the well-nourished bodies of men, women, and children amply convinces one that they do not starve" (*vide* "Bombay Gazette," 2nd August, 1881: "The Andamans, our Indian Penal Settlement;" *vide* also paper by Professor Owen, F.R.S., "On the Psychical and Physical Characteristics of the Mincopies," Report of British Association, 1861. p. 246.)

[2] *Vide* "Tribal Communities," paragraph 2, and Appendix F (*Wōd*'s statement).

[3] It is presumed that Dr. Day refers to this animal when he states that "they eat cats," for they do not appear ever to have had any fancy for the flesh of *pūchī*, the name they have adopted for the domestic cat, from the English "pussy."

[4] *Vide* "Tabu," paragraph 2 (footnote).

[5] Probably the "fat grub, about three or four inches long, much relished by the natives" (Australians), mentioned by Mr. H. W. Bates, in his "Illustrated Travels," is identical with the *òi·yum-*.

[6] The *bū·tu-* is found in rotten logs of jungle trees, especially the *Dipterocarpus lævis* (*á·rain-*), *Gluta longipetiolata* (*já-*), and *Chickrassia tabularis* (*ó·ro-*).

[7] Their fancy for grubs does not extend to the *Teredo navalis*.

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implement, and all take a share in the feast.[1] Meat thus prepared will keep good for several days.

32. I alluded just now to their method of preparing the seeds of the *Semecarpus* and *Artocarpus chaplasha* for consumption during the rains; it is as follows:—The outer husk, or skin, having been removed, a quantity of the fruit is placed on a wooden platter, and each person present renders assistance by partially sucking (!) the various pieces, which, after this preliminary process, are half boiled in water, and then wrapped up in large bundles of leaves, and buried in moist soil; no mark is made over the spot, but there appears to be no fear of forgetting it, though several weeks usually elapse before the monsoon breaks, and these decaying deposits are dug up, when the smell, as may be supposed, is most offensive to all but those who are to the manner born; by them, however, strange to relate, it is evidently highly appreciated. The next stage through which the seeds have to pass consists in freeing them in water from the decaying matter, and drying them in the sun, or over the fire, where they are left in nets (*chā·panga-*[2]) or leaves until required for use, when they are again baked. With this exception no food is dried in the sun, nor is anything salted or intentionally smoked, though this last cannot fail to be, to some extent, the result of their mode of storing food, as described in the previous paragraph.

33. Besides the various fruits already mentioned as in season during the dry months, yams and honey are very abundant; as their method of treating both fruits and yams has been already described, it now remains for me to notice the ingenious way in which they procure honey, and to name the special trees which, flowering in succession, afford ample material from whence the bees produce a more or less abundant store.

34. At the close of the monsoon one of the large jungle trees, called by them *rār-* (*Eugenia* sp.), comes into bloom, and though no honey is made from its flowers, it is said to act beneficially on the bees as a purgative, and to prepare them for the commencement of the honey season.[3] The *lē·kera-* (*Leguminosæ* sp.), blossoming a little later, is the first honey-yielding flower; the *dū·mla-*,[4] *chī·lib-* (*? Diospyros densiflora*), *ō·o-* (*Chickrassia tabularis*), and *chā·dak-* (*Rubiaceæ*) coming next into season, enable the bees to produce large combs, but the finest are found after the *pā-* (*Semecarpus*), *bā·ji-* (*Sterculia* (*!*) *villosa*), *yē·re-* (*Sterculia* sp.), *jī·dya-*,[4] have

[1] *Vide post* "Hunting and Fishing," paragraphs 30 and 31.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B. item 22.
[3] Hence *re·rāt*, (to) clean.
[4] The botanical names of these have not as yet been ascertained.

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blossomed: this is considered the height of the honey season, and is called *lad·u chàu-*.[1] It appears that on moonlight nights just at this time the bees consume a great portion of their honey, so that the "junglees" declare it to be useless to go for combs, either by day or night, until the moon has sensibly waned.

35. When about to make a raid on the hives, the Andamanese procure a certain plant, believed to be of the *Alpinia* species, called *jī·ni-*, and having stripped off the leaves, chew the stem and smear the essence thus extracted over their bodies; the mouth is also filled with the same juice, and thus armed *cap-à-pie* they proceed to disperse the bees, who, on attempting to attack them, are at once repelled by the obnoxious odour of the *jī·ni-*, emitted in a fine spray from the mouths, and also attaching to the persons of their despoilers, who sometimes make further use of the chewed stalks of the offensive plant in driving off the last remaining defenders of the hive.

36. Small combs[2] of both the white and black honey are commonly obtainable till about September—*i.e.*, so long as the *Dipterocarpus lævis*, the *Pterocarpus dalbergioides*, and a few other trees continue to blossom.[3]

37. While I had charge of the homes (and probably ever since), a large sum was annually realised by the aborigines towards their support from the sale of honey thus obtained to the free residents at Port Blair. So much indeed did they collect that we were able to store it in barrels and bottles, and generally found we had sufficient to meet all demands until the approach of the following season.

Tabu.—1. Besides the articles of food from which all abstain during the *á·kà-yáp-*,[4] we have seen that there are certain fruits, edible roots, &c., which, in supposed obedience to *Pū·luga-*'s commands, are not gathered at prescribed seasons of the year,[5] and that mourners[6] (*á·kà-ōg-*) also deny themselves by refusing to partake of their favourite viands until after the *t'ī-tó·latnga-*;[7] but beyond these restrictions, which are of general application,

[1] *Vide* Appendix H.

[2] The combs produced from the blossoms of the under-mentioned trees—*i.e.*: *.tâ·tib-* (*Croton arguratus*), *.bi·bi-* (*Terminalia* (?) *citrina*), and *.bal·ya-* are much less plentiful, and they are smaller; this is also found to be the case with those made from the *chá·langa-* (*Pterocarpus dalbergioides*), *.mó·nag-* (*Messua ferrea*), *.ē·mej-* (*Terminalia bialata*), *já-* (*Gluta longipetiolata*), and *.púb-* (*Lagerstræmia hypoleuca* (?) *regina*).

[3] As they are not, in their savage state, in the habit of storing honey, they are without any but the black honey during a great portion of the year.

[4] *Vide ante* "Initiatory Ceremonies," paragraphs 2 and 10.

[5] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 12.

[6] If the mourners are *t'rem-tá·ga-* they abstain from pork, and if they are *àrwó·to-* they abjure turtle (*vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4).

[7] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 7.

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14. *ō·do-*.[1] Nautilus shells painted with *kā·ngatā-būj-* (item 62), and used as drinking vessels.

15. *wō·lo-*.[2] Adze: this tool is used not only in making canoes, buckets, bows, &c., but in digging graves. The handle consists of an L-shaped piece of mangrove wood, *Rhizophora conjugata* (Andam., *bad·a-*), and the blade is generally made of such pieces of iron as the keel-plate of a boat; formerly *Pinna* and such like shells are said to have been used, but strange to say it does not appear that stone celts were ever so employed.

16. *lā·kà-*.[3] A long pointed stick of the *Memecylon varians*, (Andam., *pē·taing-*) or *Rhizophora conjugata* (Andam., *bad·a-*), which is used as a hoe in digging up yams and other edible roots.

[NOTE.—A similar implement is found in use among the Australians.[4]]

17. *tōg-ngā·tanga-*.[5] Pole, 12 to 15 feet long, of *Bambusa nana* (Andam., *rī·di-*), to which a short piece of bamboo is securely fastened, with a strip of cane (Andam., *pī·dga-*), or stout cord, to form a hook; it is used in gathering fruit—especially jack-fruit (*Artocarpus chaplasha*)—and is the only object of the nature of a hook *made* by the Andamanese.

18. *būj-*.[6] Cooking pot: these are made of various sizes by members of both sexes, and are shaped by the hand and eye only,[7] after being sun-dried they are surrounded with, and filled by pieces of lighted wood in order to complete the process of baking. When needed for travelling they are fitted with light wicker frames (*būj-rā·mata-*) to facilitate their removal, and to protect them from injury. The capacity of an average-sized pot is 9 or 10 pints.

[NOTE.—The *yē·reca-* and *jārawa-* pots have a conical base, and in this respect differ from those made by the tribes of South Andaman.]

19. *pū·kuta-yem·nga-*.[8] Sounding-boards—used for marking time during a song or dance[9]—which are scooped out of the fallen trunks of the *Pterocarpus dalbergioides* (Andam., *chā·langa-*), the wood of which is very hard; they are always of the same shield-like shape, and are frequently as much as 5 feet long and 2 feet wide; the concave side is generally ornamented with designs in white clay (*tā·la-ōg-*, item 58). When in use the

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 20.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 13.
[3] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 2.
[4] *Vide* "Anthropology," p. 216, by Dr. E. B. Tylor, F.R.S.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 1.
[6] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 19.
[7] *Vide* Part III, "Pottery," paragraphs 4 and 6.
[8] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 15.
[9] *Vide* Part III, "Games and Amusements," paragraph 27.

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APPENDIX L.

List of some of the Trees and Plants in the Andaman Jungles.

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.[1]	Remarks.
á·buga- (*a*)	Dillenia pilosa.	
ain·ga-	Dipterocarpus alatus .	(Burm.) *Kanyin agi.*
al·aba-	Melochia velutina ..	(*vide* Appendix B, item 66)
ám- (*a*) (*e*) .. .	Calamus, sp. No. 1.	
á·para- (*d*) (*k*) .. .. Also *á·bad-*	Ptychosperma Kuhlii ..	
á·raga-	.. ..	(Hindi.) *Palawa.* (Burm.) *Bé·bia.*
á·rain- (*m*)	Dipterocarpus lævis ..	(Burm.) *Kanyin byu-*, Gurjon oil tree.
bad·a- (*o*)	Rhizophora conjugata ..	(Burm.) *Byáma.*
bad·ar- (*a*)	Sometia tomentosa (?)	
ba·la- (*a*) (*b*) . .	Terminalia procera ..	(Burm.) *Bambway byu.*
bá·ja- (*y*)	Sterculia (? villosa) ..	(Burm.) *Sabu-basi.*
bá·lak-	.. .. ..	*Vide* Part II, "Religious Beliefs," paragraph 19.
bal·ya-		
bá·rata- (*c*)	Carvota sobolifera.	
bá·taga- (*s*)	Ceriops Candolleana ..	(Burm.) *Madamá.*
bé·lu-	Natsatium herpestes.	
bé·ma-	Albizzia Lebbek (?) ..	(Burm.) *Kák·ko*
bé·rekád-	Glycosmis pentaphylla.	
bé·rewi-	Claoxylon affine (?)	
bí·bi-	Terminalia (? citrina).	
bi·riga-	Planchonia valida ..	(Burm.) *Bambway ngé.*
bí·rtát-		
bí·tim-	Sophora sp.	
ból- (*r*)	Calamus sp. .. .	Ground rattan.
bó·ma-	Claoxylon sp.	
bó·rowa- (*u*)	Myristica longifolia ..	(Hindi.) *Jaiphal.* (Burm.) *Zá·dipho.*
bó·to-kó·ko- (*v*)	Sabia (?)	
búb-	Ancistrocladus extensus (?)	
bú·kura- (*i*)	Diospyros (?) nigricans ..	Bastard ebony, or marble wood (superior variety).
bún-		
bú·tu-	.. .. . .	Extensively used in the manufacture of arrows.
chán- (*a*)	.. ..	(Hindi.) *Badám.*
chá·dak-	Rubiaceæ.	
chág·e-	Paratropia venulosa.	
chai-	.. ..	Bows made from this tree.

[1] It has been chiefly owing to the kind assistance afforded by Dr. G. King, Superintendent of the Botanical Garden, Howrah (near Calcutta), that I have been able to ascertain the botanical names of so many of the trees in this list.

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
chaij- (*a*) (*b*)	Semecarpus anacardium	(Hindi.) *Bilāwa.*
chā'kan- (*b*)	Entada pursætha.	
chā'langa- (*g*)	Pterocarpus dalbergioides	(Hindi.) *Sīsu.* (Burm.) *Padāuk.*
chām- (*j*)	Areca laxa of Hamilton (a variety of Areca triandra).	
chā'mti-	Cynometra polyandra.	
chāng'ta-	Calamus sp.	Leaves used in thatching huts, and for making the warning wreaths round a grave or deserted encampment.
chāp-	Terminalia sp.	
chā'to-	Albizzia Lebbek (?) ..	(Hindi.) *Sirīs.* (Burm.) *Tsit.*
chāu'ga-gū'anga-	Hopea odorata	(Burm.) *Thingān-byū-.*
chē'nir-	Leea sambucina.	
chī'lib-	Diospyros densiflora (?)	
chō'ad-	.. ..	(Burm.) *Māukarāung.*
chō'bal-	Ataläntia sp.	
chō'ngara- (*a*)		
chū'pa- (*a*)	Leguminosæ.	
chūb- (*a*)	Calamus sp. No. 2 ..	The fruit somewhat resembles a medlar in flavour.
chū'kuga-	Goniothalamus Griffithii.	
chū'lij-	Hypolytrum trinervium.	
chūr- (*i*)	Celtis cinnamomea.	
dā'kar-tā'la-	Hydnocarpus (?) ..	(Hindi.) ? *Lāl chīni.* (Burm.) ? *Chāndu.*
dē'debla-	Xanthophyllum glaucum.	
dūd-	Myristica Irya	Sometimes used for paddle making.
dū'gota- (*a*) (*f*)	Mimusops Indica (or ? littoralis)	(Hindi.) *Mōwa.* (Burm.) *Kapāli thit.*
dū'mto- (*p*)	Guettarda speciosa.	
Dū'mla-	.. ..	(Burm.) *Pichām.*
dū'ra-	Barringtonia racemosa.	
ekta'la-		
ē'mej- (*b*)	Terminalia bialata.	
eng'ara- (*a*)	.. ..	Wild plantain.
ē'repaid-tāt-	Strychnos nux vomica.	
gā'cha-		
gad-	Calophyllum spectabile.	
gel'dim- (*a*) ..	Leguminosæ sp.	
ger'eng- (*a*)	Bombax malabaricum ..	(Hindi.) *Semhal.* (Burm.) *Didu.*
gū'gma-	Trigonostemon longifolius	Leaves used medicinally as a febrifuge.
I'til- (*b*)	Pandanus (?)	
jū- (*a*)	Gluta longipetiolata ..	(Burm.) *Thip-pyū.*
jū'la-	Rubiaceæ.	
jūng'ma- (*a*)	Stephania hernandifolia.	

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
jirdga		
jī'ni- (*a*)	Alpinia sp.	(*Vide* Part I "Medicine," para. 4, and Part III, "Food," para. 35.)
jór-	Odina Wodier	(Burm.) *Nabbâl.*
jū'laij- (*b*)	Dendrolobium umbellatum	
jū'mu- (*a*)..	? Bruguiera gymnorhiza, *or* Rhizophora mucronata.	(Burm.) *Byoke.*
kā'daka-	Ficus hispida.	
kai- (*a*)	Mangifera sylvatica ..	Wild mango.
kai'ta- (*a*) (*b*	Artocarpus chaplasha ..	(Hindi.) *Kathar.* (Burm.) *Toung-peng.*
kā'pa- (*a*) (*b*)	Licuala (probably peltata)	
kā'red- (*a*)..	? Sterculia (*or* Sanadora Indica)	The fruit contains a nut which after being sucked is broken, when the *shell* is eaten and the *kernel* thrown away.
kā'rega- (*a*)	Diospyros sp.	
kó'kan- (*r*) ..	Pajanelia multijuga.	
kún- (*a*)	Diospyros sp.	
kú'rtá'la-	Griffithia longiflora.	
kū'daga-	One of the Rubiaceæ.	
kū'aru-	Dracontomelum sylvestre.	
lē'che-	Lactaria salubris ..	The fruit being large and round is often used as a moving target by being rolled along the ground or down a slope and shot at while in motion.
lē'kera-	Leguminosæ sp.	
lō-gaj- (*a*)	Angiopteris evecta.	
lō'koma-		
mā'chal-	Atalantia sp.	
maū- (*x*)	Sterculia (?)	(Burm.) *Ank gyaud.*
máng- (*a*) (*b*) (*l*).. ..	Pandanus Andamanensium.	(Hindi.) *Kéora.*
mó'nag-	Mesua ferrea	(Hindi.) *Sál.* (Burm.) *Gangun.*
mót-	Heritiera littoralis.	
mū'tuin- (*a*)	Anacardiaceæ.	
ngā'tya- (*a*)	Bruguiera sp.	
ñgē'bēr- (*b*) .. .	Cynas Rumphii.	
nyū'raimo-	Ficus sp. No. 1.	
ō'dag-	Eugenia sp.	
ō'dorma- (*a*)		
ō'li- (*a*)	Ficus (probably macrophylla).	
.. ..		(Burm.) *Thiousiwe.*
ō'lna-	Chickrassia tabularis ..	(Burm.) *Nga'su.*
ō'ro-	Baccaurea sapida ..	(Hindi.) *Khatta phal.* (Burm.) *Kanaso.*
ō'ropa- (*a*) (*b*) (*c*) .	Uvaria micrantha.	
ō'rta-tāt- (*a*) (*g*)	Semecarpus (?)	(Burm.) *Thikadoe.*
pū- (*b*)		

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
pai'mo-	Clausena (probably Wallichii).	
pai'tla-(b)		
pâb-	Lagerstroemia regina (? hypoleuca)	(Burm.) *Pinn.*
pâr-	Leguminosæ sp.	
pâ're-		
pâ'rud-	Gramineæ.	
pâ'tag-	Melicœna simplicifolia ..	Leaves sometimes used as aprons by women (*vide dâ'gala-*). The kernel of the seed is eaten.
pâ'dag-		
pâ'li- (a)	Gnetum scandens.	
pâ'taiag-	Memecylon varians	
pâ'cha- (i)	Diospyros sp.	Bastard ebony, or marble wood (inferior variety).
pâ'dga- (w)	.. ..	Common cane.
pâ'lita-	Gnetum edule	Fibre extensively used (*vide* Appendix B, item 65).
pâ'rij-	Afzelia bijuga.	
pâ'ti-	Derris scandens.	
pâ- (*f*)	Bambusa Andamanica.	
pâr- (a)	Korthalsia (or Calamosagus) scaphigera.	
pâ'rud-	probably Schmeidelia glabra	(Burm.) *Kimberlîa.*
pâ'a-	Bambusa	Used for making the shaft of the turtle-spear, and for poling canoes.
pâ'lain- (*b*)	.. ..	(Burm.) *Ngâ'za* sp. No. 1.
pâ'lia- (*b*)	Mucuna sp.	
pâ'lka-	Memecylon (probably capitellatum).	
pâ'ta- (*b*)	Nipa fruticans	Dhunny leaf palm.
pâ-	Dendrobium secundum.	
pâb-	Phœnix sp.	(Hindi.) *Kajûr.*
pâr-	Eugenia (?)	(Hindi.) *Chandan.* (Burm.) *Tan-ngim.*
pâo-	Ficus laccifera	(Hindi.) *Bargat.* (Burm.) *Ngiâu.*
pâ'cho-	Eugenia sp.	(Burm.) *Mai âmka.*
erg là'dà châl-	Polyalthia Jenkinsii.	
pâ'di-	Bambusa (?)	Used for making the shafts of the *pâ'tà-*, *ti'rlêd-*, and *tô'lbod* arrows.
pâm- (*s*)	Celtis (or Gironniera) ..	(Burm.) *Tragâm.*
pâ'toin-	Syzygium Jambolanum.	
tâ'lunga-tât-	Antidesma calocarpa ..	(Burm.) *Ganqua ngee.*
tâ'lapa-	Terminalia trilata (?) ..	(Hindi.) *Chêglun.* (Burm.) ? *Ngâ'za* sp. No. 2, or *Kyê na lin.*

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Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
tāo-		
tē'per-	Erycibe coriacea.	
tē'tik- (a) (i)	Croton argyratus (Blyth)	(Burm.) *Châna.*
ti-		
tō'kal-	.. ..	(Burm.) *Kiddalang.*
tōl-	Amomum dealbatum (*or* sericeum).	
top-	Barringtonia Asiatica.	
tō'ta-	.. ..	(Burm.) *Pyā.*
ūd- (b)	Menispermaceæ.	
u'dalo-	Pandanus verus.	
ūj- (a)	Tetranthera lanceifolia ..	(*Vide* Appendix B, item 76.)
ūl-	Carapa obovata	(Burm.) *Pralieng.*
u'taro-	Maranta grandis (*or* Phrynium grande).	
wai'yo-		
wi'nga-	Pterospermum acerifolium.	
wot'ungo-	.. ..	(Hindi.) *Jungli saigon:* (Burm.) *Pĭau.*
yi'limo-	Podocarpus polystachia..	(Burm.) *Thit min.*
yū'rla-		
yūtig'i-	Rubiaceæ.	
yu're-	Sterculia sp.	
yū'lba-	Anodendron paniculatum.	

Additional Notes.

(*a*) Fruit is eaten.
(*b*) Seed is eaten.
(*c*) Heart of the tree is eaten.
(*d*) Pulpy portion of spathe is eaten.
(*e*) Leaf stems used in manufacture of sleeping mats. Leaves used for thatching purposes.
(*f*) Leaves used by women as aprons (*ō'bungo-*); rotten logs used for fuel (see also "Superstitions," para. 8).
(*g*) Stem of this plant used for the frame and handle of the hand-net (*kūd-*) (*vide* Appendix B, item 29).
(*h*) Leaves used for thatching, for screens (*vide* Appendix B, item 74), for bedding, for wrapping round corpse, for packing food for journey, &c., and prior to cooking.
(*i*) Rotten logs used for fuel.
(*j*) Used in manufacture of the foreshaft of the *rū'tā-*, *ti'rlē'd-*, *tō'lbi'd-*, and *chim-* arrows (*vide* Appendix B, items 2, 3, 4, 8), and sometimes also the skewer.
(*k*) Leaves used for thatching and for bedding.
(*l*) Leaves used in the manufacture of articles of personal attire (*vide* Appendix B, items 25 and 28).
(*m*) The middle portion of rotten logs used for torches.
(*n*) Rarely used for making canoes.
(*o*) Used for adzes, sometimes for foreshafts of arrows, and for making children's bows.
(*p*) Leaves used for flooring of huts.
(*q*) Buttress-like slab roots used for making the sounding-boards employed when dancing.

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(*r*) Used for making canoes.
(*s*) Resin used in manufacture of *kâ·ngatá-bŭj-* (*vide* Appendix B, item 62).
(*t*) Used in making the *gŏb-*, *kai-*, and sometimes the *tóg-* (*vide* Appendix B, items 82, 80, and 10).
(*u*) Generally used for making paddles, and the leaves for bedding.
(*v*) Used for making shaft of hog-spear.
(*w*) Used for making baskets, fastenings of adzes, turtle-spears, torches (*tô·ug-*), and of bundles; also for suspending buckets, for stitching cracks in canoes, and in thatching.
(*x*) Used for making canoes; the resin is employed in making torches.
(*y*) Used for making canoes, pails, and eating trays.

APPENDIX M.

LIST OF SHELLS AND SHELL FISH COMMONLY KNOWN TO THE ANDAMANESE.

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Andamanese name.	Scientific name.[1]	Remarks.
bad·..la- (*x*)	Monodonta (? labeo).	
bad·..la- (*a*)	Delphinula laciniata.	
bo-..	Pecten (?) Indica ..	Scallop.
chá·pata- (*b*)	Pteroceras chiragra ..	Scorpion shell.
chàu·ga lŏt chŭ·kul- ..	Murex tribulus.	
chej- (also *chŭ·la-*) ..	Pinna (? squamosa) ..	Bouquet-holder shell.
chŭ·d.. (*b*)	Pinna (?)	
cho·kot-..	? Conus eburneus.	
cho·rom- (*a*)	Scolymus cornigerus.	
chŭ·wai- (*a*)	Tridacna crocea.	
chŭ- (*a*)	Murex (? palma-rosæ) ..	Rose-bud shell.
ĕ·la-	Perna ephippium.	
gar·en-	Dentalium octogonum.	
gar·en-ó·la- (*a*)	Turbo (?)	Top-shell.
i·nagó·la- (*a*)	Nassa (? tœnia)	Dog-whelk.
jar·awa·..la- (*a*) ..	Purpura Persica.	
jŭ·rka-ŭ-	Cyrena (?)	
jŭ·rol- (*b*)	Cerithidea telescopium.	
jŭ·ru-wa·la kà bang- ..	Solen vagina	Razor-fish.
kâ·mrŭj-	Trochus (? obeliscus).	
kâ·rada-	Arca granosa.	
kâ·nop- (*a*)	Tridacna squamosa.	
lí·do-	Turbo marmoratus ..	Is eaten by the *bal·awa-* tribe only.
lí·ta- (*a*)	Cassis glaucus	Helmet-shell.
mál·to- (*a*)	Venus (?)	
mar·ed- (*a*)	Venus meroë	Pattern-shot Venus.
mar·eno- (*a*)	Patella variabilis ..	Rock-limpet.

[1] To the Rev. T. L. J. Warneford, formerly chaplain at the Andamans, I am indebted for the classical names of many of the shells in this list.

(*a*) denotes those that are cooked and eaten.

(*b*) denotes those that are cooked and eaten by *married* persons only.

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Andamanese name.	Scientific name.	Remarks.
ayĕ'red-	Mitra adusta	Mitre-shell.
ó'do-	Nautilus (? zic-zac).	
ó'la- (*a*)	Cerithium (? nodulosum).	
ó'log-	Strombus (? pugilis).	
pai'dek- (*a*)	Arca (? barbata).	
pail- (*b*)	Mytilus smaragdinus ..	Sea-mussel.
pai'lta- (*b*)	Pharus (?)	
púp-ó'la- (*a*)	Turbo porphyreticus.	
pĕ'te- (*a*)	Circe (?)	
pó'rma- (*a*)	Arca (?)	
pü'luga (àr à'lang- ..	Dolium latelabris (? also galea).	
rĕ'keto-	Hemicardium unedo.	
rõ'kta- (*b*)	Cyrena (?)	
tà'ra-ó'la- (*a*)	Natica albumen.	
tai'lig-pü'nur-	Conus (? nobilis).	
teb- (*a*)	Bulla naucum	Bubble-shell.
tĕ'lim-	Cypræa Arabica	Cowry.
„	„ Mauritiana.	
„	„ Talpa.	
„	„ Tigris.	
„	„ Vitellus	
til-	Cassis Madagascariensis (? also tuberosa)	Queen-conch.
tòi ña-	Ostrea (?)	Eaten many years ago but not now.
tũ'a- (*a*)	Trochus Niloticus.	
ũ- (*a*)	Cyrena (?)	
ü'chup-	Conus textile	Cone shell.
ü'yo-	? Turbinella pyrum, *or* Pyrula (? ficus)	Shank shell.
wal- (*b*)	Spondylus (?)	Thorny oyster.
wá'ngata- (*a*)	Arca (? granosa).	
wóp- (*b*)	Ostrea (?)	Oyster.
yá'dī làr ĕ'te- (*a*) ..	Haliotis glabra (*also* „ asininus)	Ear-shell.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

164 do they suffer from the eye infections that are so common in the tropics. Their
151 highly trained eye can distinguish at a great distance small vessels on the troubled waters of the sea that people with normal eyesight could not perceive without a telescope. Normal vision, I suppose, is the same for the entire human
123 race ; but we exercise our eyesight less. In the dark fastness of the jungle, the
151 Onge were able to point out birds sitting motionless high up in the trees, quite invisible to me notwithstanding my experience in collecting even the tiniest specimens. With their sharp eyes they sought out for me a collection of minute mimetic amphibians living far from the ground on tree trunks, previously unknown to science. The same thing often happened when I was unable to see as far as they did. The help of my savage friends was invaluable in avoiding the poisonous snakes that we met with daily in our camps or while travelling. For our protection, the Onge always marched in front of my men. They could discern reptiles hanging from branches among thick foliage, waiting to bite us on the neck, or lying perfectly still in the tall grass, ready to attack our legs. The only trouble we had with snakes was when the men I had brought from India, in moments of enthusiasm ran ahead into the interior of the jungle, eluding their Onge vanguard.

752 The Onge themselves, however, are sometimes bitten by snakes, with
123 dire consequences. Happily the Andamanese snakes are less deadly than the
[136] same species on the continent, and few deaths occur from snake bite ; but it can curtail a man's activity for several months. In March 1953 an Onge friend
[222] of about 25 who had climbed a tall tree to collect honey, inadvertently seized with his left hand a snake concealed in a tuft of creepers, and was bitten above the elbow. Frightful swelling ensued, together with shooting pains and a raging fever. The man was brought to me unconscious, his left arm had already assumed the appearance of a huge, rigid, elongated sausage. The Onge had smeared all his body, and particularly the wounded arm, with ochre mixed with honey, turtle fat and rough clay. They have no specific remedy for snake bite. It was too late, but in an attempt to save the patient an antiophidic injection was practiced on him. Within a few hours he appeared to rally. I saw him again after eleven days ; his arm had been treated in the Onge way and put in a sling made of ficus bark cut into narrow strips. Fever had disappeared, and in part also the swelling, so he could move his elbow a little. The skin peeled off the whole length of the arm. Where the fangs had entered the flesh two round, red, suppurating wounds, 1 cm in diameter, were discernible under a layer of clay and honey. The man recovered in about two months. During his
476 illness the people who shared his communal hut exempted him, his wife and his children from all work, and supplied them with all requirements. This occurs in every case of illness, showing the complete solidarity that prevails among those simple people once considered ferocious. Always, if the wife is ill, the husband is automatically relieved of his hunting, fishing and food-collecting duties. Friends provide food for the family, no matter how many the members thereof.

164 In Little Andaman, we Europeans are constantly threatened with mala-
143 ria. Should we fail to take all necessary precautions we would catch it upon setting foot on the island. The Onge are all infected, but it does not upset

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

simultaneously with it a successful all-round regional development of the islands.

The resources of the islands having a small areal extent are very limited though the forest and sea products are fairly rich to deserve special mention. The presence of a variety of valuable species of timber in these islands has led to their exploitation since the development of the Penal settlement. The important species of timber found in the Andaman forests are padauk, garjan etc. In the previous decades, the forest exploitation was never associated with a commensurate amount of forest regeneration. Such policies are being followed at present for saving the forest resources from ruthless exploitation without any adequate means of ensuring a perennial supply of timber by systematic regeneration. The recent colonisation scheme has invoked the enquiry for the clearance of the forests. Andaman forests being rich in timber and also being the only major revenue earning source of the islands should by no means be ruthlessly cleared for settlement. Not only it depletes the forest resources but also degenerates the soil—the soil erosion being the immediate victim after such clearance of forests. Considering the primary importance of the forest resources of the islands, it seems to be a plausible agreement that at least 50% of the land should be reserved under forest cover and a further curtailment from this percentage will undoubtedly lead to serious consequences of the soil simultaneously with a great decrease in the resources of the islands.

The sea products range from a wide variety of products from sea shells to sea fisheries. The collection of sea shells is in vogue from a fairly long time and the sea fisheries, mostly being confined to the coastal areas, is conducted by the fishermen and the tribal people for their own consumption. There is a good deal of possibility for furthering the development of marine fisheries on a commercial scale but the lack of enterprise and capital investment has not given rise to any appreciable development. The only two enterprises of the fisheries are those of Trochus and Turbo shells by the Japanese during 1930-36 and another enterprise by a business concern in 1947. Even the present catch from the coastal areas amount to only 300 lbs., a considerable lag from the demand within the islands.

The means of earning livelihood in the islands were hunting and collecting by the aboriginal population who have not even to-day learnt the techniques of domesticating plants and also animals except the Onges who have domesticated the dogs very recently. The penal settlement and the subsequent expansion of the administrative seat at Port Blair

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

to them that I was able to find the various amphibia which subsequently proved to be new species. They know poisonous and non-poisonous snakes by sight and how to avoid being bitten. They could tell me which trees flowered and when, because they knew this affected the whereabouts and the quality of the honey, and they knew which flowers and roots had medicinal properties. The necessity, in accordance with their superstitions, of keeping their prey alive as long as possible has also given them a somewhat gruesome knowledge of anatomy and physiology. The call of food has also made them weather experts; they know which air currents and winds bring what animals, or cause them to vanish, and what game is likely to haunt what terrain. They could tell me where to find certain fish, or crustacea, or where certain roots or fruit in season were to be found.

The striking feature of their knowledge was that it did not merely relate to what was edible or inedible. Amphibia, reptiles and birds for example, they never eat under any circumstances; but they knew where to find them all for me, and they knew the bird migrations and how these related to the movements of the marine fauna.

Providentially, the exactitude of the Onges' botanical and zoological knowledge is matched by the magnitude of their superstitious fears. Were it not for this all the edible vegetation on the islands would have disappeared long ago as a result of their incredibly thoughtless destruction. The effect, therefore, is almost that of a purely involuntary, embryonic form of 'agriculture', contrasting strangely with their persisting, persistent and complete lack of interest in any formal care, however primitive. The Onges believe that the plants which produce edible roots and tubers belong to a spirit related to Eiuga, whose anger is aroused if he sees his plants being taken; his vengeance is quick and terrible.

There are on Little Andaman a number of creepers with edible fleshy roots, sometimes as thick as a man's wrist, sticking out horizontally at least fifty to sixty centimetres from the main stem, only just below the surface. They invariably grow in light soil, where there are no rocks, and are very easy for the Onges to reach with their digging sticks. These and the yams, sometimes as big as a football, which are to be found everywhere, the Onges have to steal from the spirit who owns them. The creepers themselves,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

twining up into the trees, and the shorter-stemmed yams, are never disturbed. The Onges merely dig down, at a respectful distance from the plant, certain of finding what they want. On no account must there be any signs of the theft for the spirit to see, so they quietly take off roots or tubers some way from the main stem and leave the rest, patting the earth down afterwards and covering the place with leaves. The guardian spirit, not, apparently, all-seeing, notices nothing, as the plant continues to flourish, improved by the root pruning. Everyone, guardian spirit and Onges alike, is happy.

This unconscious preservation may well be the result of a decree, in some remote past, by an Onge seer who realized the danger of killing off the entire plants and invented the guardian spirits as a deterrent. The Negritos still make similar use of roots and tubers; Skeet and Blagden fifty years ago referred to the Semang eating poisonous wild yams, having removed the toxic substances.[1]

It is interesting that both in the past and even today a number of peoples at a very early stage of cultural development have progressed from the gathering of the wild yams of South-East Asia to the first signs of cultivation and agriculture. It is possible that they were the first plants ever to be cultivated by primitive Man, the Negritos with their digging sticks delving then as they do now; the genus is certainly a very ancient one, and some species, such as *Dioscorea alata*, may have spread from Asia to Africa and Oceania, and even to America, with the beginning of cultivation. But this is a stage of development which the peoples of the Andaman never reached.

The digging stick, the only implement the Onges have with which to get at the roots and tubers, has in recent times been affected, though to a very limited extent by the spread of iron. Only a few individuals possess a primitive iron tool, half a metre long, cylindrical in shape and usually not more than one and a half centimetres in diameter and flattened into a form of blade at one end. The vast majority still have only the age-old stick made of hard wood, hardly recognizable as a tool and crudely fashioned into a point at one end. This tool, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an odd

[1] It is interesting that the American Aborigines, especially in Brazil, do the same with manioc, but I saw nothing of this nature in the Andamans.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

This tool, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an old piece of wood, has definite uses, and none of the nomadic forest peoples anywhere in the world are without it. Everywhere it is found it is effective in filling huge baskets with food – baskets equally simply and equally quickly made. I have already described (see p. 93) the baskets made by the Onges for purely temporary use on their hunting expeditions. In the communal huts, however, the making of real baskets involves hours of careful plaiting, working the supple fibres from the strong bark of selected rushes, and expert finishing. These baskets are an invariable and prized part of every family's inheritance and are preserved for as long as possible. Nowhere in the collection of basketry from Great Andaman are there baskets with more craftsmanship than the permanent ones of the Onges.[1] All the baskets are the shape of half an egg. There is little variation in size, all being about forty centimetres in diameter at the top, and about forty-five centimetres deep, unlike the temporary carriers, which vary considerably in size, according to whether they are to be carried by men, women, or even children, and what is to be carried.

At the opposite extreme from the underground harvest of roots, men and women alike use long thin hooked poles to hook down fruit from the trees, climbing up into the trees when necessary to strip the highest branches and then hiding the poles in the forest until they are next required (no attempt is ever made to carry them about). When the tree is not too large, it is ruthlessly chopped down and stripped as it lies on the ground. I was horrified in the first fortnight of April to see this happen to trees which the Onges call *danghecciò*, which bear blackish-red fruit about the size of a pigeon's egg. The attraction is the flavour of the pulp, but there is little of it, surrounding a large nut. To get at the pulp a thick, hard case has to be cracked, but to the formidable Onge teeth this is no problem and the case cracks comparatively easily. The nut itself is not edible; the honey-coloured pulp is sweetish, but there is so little that it takes ten fruits to provide ten grams of it. The fruits hang in bunches at the end of branches covered with leaves rather like a chestnut. As the wood is very soft, the Onges usually hack the trees down; large ones may merely have their branches lopped

[1] Editor's note: The author indicated in manuscript at this point his intention of giving a full description of the way in which these are made, but unfortunately died before he was able to do so.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

222 off, so that they may eventually recover, although they may take several years to do so.

The fruit they gather most, however, is the *bulundanghe*, a wild form of the so-called jack-fruit. This ripens a little later than the *dangheccio* at the end of April, and is the occasion of intense activity. Men, women and children swarm to the harvest, returning to the camp loaded every night. When fully ripe the *bulundanghe* fall open if rubbed between the fingers. I found the pulp very pleasant, but the seeds need the Onge stomach to cope with them. They would [185] in fact be suitable for storage over long periods as they do not seem to deteriorate, but the Onges would never think of this.

At no other time of year did I see so many baskets lying round the Onge camps, cast aside after use. As early as mid-March, impatient for the fruit, bitter but already fully grown to the size of a child's head, the Onges begin to strip the trees. When fully ripe the fruit are a yellowish-green, with a very wrinkled outer case, marked off as it were into tiny compartments, geometrical in shape, and mostly pentagonal. If one presses a finger on one of these it goes through into the fruit, which has the appearance of innumerable tiny cells, all separated by a membrane, each terminating in a seed at the central core of the fruit. The cells are an orange-yellow on the surface, becoming a very pale yellow inside when the pulp becomes softer. The seeds are covered by a sweetish orange skin, and are arranged regularly along the core, which is itself an extension of the stout, woody stalk.

The best parts to eat are the seeds and their sweetish skin. When the fruits are still unripe, sour, and hard, enormous quantities have to be gathered and carried to the camp where they are boiled until they are soft enough to open. The seeds are taken out and all the rest of the fruit is thrown away. When properly ripe, on the other hand, the seeds in their skins can be extracted on the spot, leaving the weight of the useless residue behind, lying in heaps under the tree. For eating, the skins are slit open with a *Cyrena* shell, the seeds [252] extracted, and the skins and seeds piled up separately on huge leaves. The leaves are then tied up with the usual cords of vegetable fibres, and the bags laid on hot ashes. The skins turn into a sticky paste, not bad tasting, and the roasted seeds are greatly improved to our taste, though still very indigestible.

[262] In April and May the Onges eat *bulundanghe* morning, noon and

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night. Everything else stops. *Bulundanghe* are food enough, and even honey is left for the future; there will be larvae, and bees, and nests to come. Life is good!

Later come the large, heavy *Pandanus* (*Mane* to the Onges) but they are far less important. The whole fruit has hardly any smell, but immediately it is open it smells rather like a pineapple. The separate segments, actually carpals, each in its own skin, pineapple-coloured on the outside shading to a pale yellow, can be picked off one by one. Each carpal is rather like a pyramid, with the top towards the centre of the fruit, the base towards the outside, wrinkled and divided into cellules each containing an ovule. The edible part of the fruit is very small. In the Nicobars, where the huge cultivated variety can weigh anything up to two kilos, the women spend hours passing a string through and through the heavy sphere of orange pulp to comb out the short bristly fibres which damage the stomach. The Onges are not interested in such niceties! The smaller wild fruit is merely broken into pieces, ready for chewing. The result of all the chewing is hardly worth the effort; there is taste, and there is smell, but the food value is very small indeed, and even the Onges seem to realize it.

Much better are the *giogbene*, which ripen in February, and the *ghine* in mid-March. The *giogbene* are soft, red fruit, the size of a cherry but rather less rounded, hanging in bunches from the trunk and the larger branches of the tree. The green seed sprouts out of the end of the fruit, like a large bean, but is not eaten; the Onges cut it off, and eat only the pulpy fruit, raw. They love to make necklaces, twining the fruits with slender fibres into long garlands, even making some for me when I was with them, and return to the camp every night with long ropes hanging round their necks and from their arms.

Ghine are very different. From the outside they look like small medlars, covered with a leathery skin which is easy to crack off with one's teeth. The fruit itself has three segments, and is rather gelatinous, a little sour, but quite edible. The Indians with me liked them very much and ate so many that they developed severe indigestion – unlike the Onges, who ate far more with no ill effects.

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less plentiful and containing a great deal of wax, and is greatly prized by the Onges. The darker bees, common in China, Celebes, Borneo and beyond, build their nests in cavities in the rocks, or in tree-trunks. Their honey, darker and with less wax, is more plentiful, but not so fine; when there is enough of the golden honey the Onges ignore the darker variety.

Few of the fruits on Little Andaman contain much sugar, but the Onges eat more than enough honey to compensate any deficiency that would otherwise occur. Whatever the fruit in season, men, women and children climb happily about like acrobats, hanging in the trees to get at it and the honey that goes with it. To chop the tree down is, of course, easiest and the obvious first choice for any Onge. Failing this, and their hooked poles, they climb up the nearby lianas into the branches, or walk up the trunk – an easy feat for them with their very long arms and almost prehensile toes.

Although there are arak nuts and betel leaves in the forest, the Onges ignore them. They are the same variety as elsewhere; *Areca catechu* and *Piper betel*. The Nicobarese are so addicted to them that many have lips and teeth hideously deformed as a result, but this is quite unknown among the Onges, contrary to earlier reports. The appearance of addiction in the Nicobars may have occurred after the separation of the peoples.

With all these fruits the Onges consume vast quantities of honey from the two species of bee, *dorsata* and *nigrocinta*. During the rainy season they can only get at the darker, poorer honey of *nigrocinta*, which builds nests under boulders or in crevices of trees or rocks. The Onges' real honey orgies occur, therefore, in the dry season, when the honey birds (Indicationidae), common in Africa and all over Asia, lead them to the trees where the golden honey of *dorsata* is hidden.

When one of the Onges finds a nest of bees he puts a mark on the rock or tree as a sign of ownership. None of the others would then dare to take possession of it, for fear of punishment by the group,[1] but when the time comes to take the honey everyone helps in the hard work of getting at the nest and opening it up. On one trip from Labanar to Togalanghe, on 19 March 1954, the Onges pointed out over twenty *Nigrocinta* nests to me, all reserved ready for use

[1] However deep in the forest a crime is committed, it will inevitably be discovered in the end, and punished by banishment from the community.

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when the supply of *dorsata* diminished at the onset of the stormy season, when the gales lashing the branches dislodge the nests and hurl them to the ground.

Unlike the beekeepers of the civilized world, the Onges make no attempt to protect their bare bodies while they are extracting honey. Yet they are never stung, and watching them one felt in the presence of some age-old mystery, lost by the civilized world. I watched an Onge from the ground with my field glasses as he climbed up a tree to a *dorsata* nest and saw him, as it were, blowing on the bees round about the trunk as he went up. As he approached the nest they huddled round it in a protective cloud, hiding it completely from view. Suddenly, as the Onge's face came within twenty centimetres of the boiling, humming mass, the bees seemed to shrink back as he blew on them. Not one moved to attack as he gouged out the combs with his bare hands, throwing handfuls of bees out into the air. And then the whole cloud of bees gathered into a swarm and left the tree and the nest to the interloper.

The Onge stripped lengths of green bark from the lianas growing up the tree, and then broke the nest up. Tying the combs to his back with the strips of bark he lowered himself down to the ground, swinging like an ape from liana to liana. There, while his friends fell on the honey, he calmly cleaned himself down – with not one sting on him. This he did in a way unusual for the Onges, filling his mouth with water from a nearby pond and squirting it into his cupped hands, until he had enough in his hands for a perfunctory rub down. This method of washing is common in primitive peoples but advanced for the Onges. When they have been painting themselves with the usual fat and ochre paste, for example, the women will clean their hands to their satisfaction by wiping them on their *naquineghe*, while the men use the dogs' coats as a convenient towel.

In March 1952, in the middle of the honey season, I was on the west coast of Little Andaman, near Nachuge. Twelve Onges were with me, and when they noticed a bees' nest high up in a *Pterocarpus* the youngest of them at once climbed up after it. As soon as he saw that the combs were full of honey, with no larvae, he called for a container. With amazing speed he tore enough bark off the nearest liana with his teeth to make a cord over twenty metres long and the hollowed-out log was soon hauled up, to come down again crammed with combs brimming with pale golden honey, very

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sweet, and delicately flower-scented. No one waited for the climber to reach the ground. With my men and the Onges the party numbered twenty-two in all, every one of them hungry. The log was thirty centimetres across, and besides the combs there was a good four inches of honey in the bottom, but even so I only managed to set aside two litres for the man who did all the work, before the combs had all disappeared and the remaining liquid as well. The whole lot was gone in a matter of minutes.

What puzzled me was how the bees were quietened. I knew from personal observation that both the varieties of bee on Little Andaman could and did sting badly, and I knew that the Onges I had watched had done nothing deliberately to avoid stings.

In Man, the olfactory sense can detect minute amounts of iodoform, for example, but we are completely insensitive to other substances strongly repellent to flies, mosquitoes and other insects. Some similar mechanism must also operate in the case of bees. The Onges cannot understand anything of this, but they must possess some age-old, almost intuitive and innate knowledge, which they apply unconsciously. At some time someone must have found that the juice of a certain plant they call *tonjoghe*, apparently inodorous, has the power of deterring bees, and this knowledge, handed down from generation to generation, is applied with delightful simplicity.

In the forests of Little Andaman there are bushes of *tonjoghe* everywhere, and the Onge who is to go after the honey simply grabs a handful of the leaves and stuffs them into his mouth. With some vigorous chewing they are quickly reduced to a greenish pulp, which is smeared all over the body, particularly the hair. Another huge mouthful chewed on the way up and spat at the bees to make quite sure that they will be deterred even to the point of failing to attack the unsmeared bystanders. I have myself tried the leaves, and like the Onges found them quite tasteless and odourless. The Onges say that the 'magic' was revealed by a seer, and it is a curious fact that of all the luxuriant vegetation on the island only this one plant is effective.

I am unfortunately not in a position to say definitely to what species *tonjoghe* belongs. I took some plants to Port Blair, where they were planted in the Governor's garden; unfortunately before they could flower the then Governor left, and a new gardener

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thought they were weeds and pulled them up. I never managed to see the plant in flower in the wild state, as this occurs at the height of the rainy season, and as no final definition is possible in the absence of the flower it remains unidentified.

The Onges take full advantage of the plant's properties as a bee-deterrent and in mid-March they eat honey, paint themselves, and dance, twenty-four hours a day. During these orgies I have seen a group of about sixty Onges demolish in a few days ten pigs and a dozen large, wooden vessels full of honey, with basket after basket of fish, caught every night by the women, who were apparently not in the least tired by the long daily treks into the forest after the honey. I can never look back on the Onges without a feeling of profound respect for their powers of digestion!

Yet another source of food for the islanders is the cicada. On Little Andaman there are a few species a little larger than the European variety and others rather smaller. The Onges collect the pupae as they emerge from the ground, usually in the mornings, and roast them as a great treat. They are actually very clean insects, which develop slowly under the earth over a period of years sucking lymph from the roots of the trees. When they emerge from the ground the pupae become leathery, but this presents no problem to the indomitable teeth of the Onges. Inside the cicada chrysalids are a mass of delicate tissues, so white and clean that one can understand the Onges' predilection for them.

On Little Andaman the cicadas chirp intermittently, with long silences; most of the day one hears nothing of them and when they suddenly start up the Onges fall absolutely quiet, terrified of frightening them away and losing their chrysalids.[1] In a few moments the whole forest suddenly echoes with a chorus of cicadas, as they all start up as one and then, a minute later, fall silent. Their intermittent chirping is not confined to the Andamans; it is a feature of several species throughout southern Asia. At Golpahar when I was in the middle of the forest excavating kitchen-middens I heard cicadas start up every day at 6.30 p.m., and then stop until the following day. In the mountains of South India, on the slopes

[1] The Onges do not seem to share the superstitions reported by Man and Brown among the Arioto, who appear to believe in fantastic connections between cicadas, the sun, and storms.

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of Pushpaghiri ('mountain of the flowers'), I saw workmen using the cicadas to mark the end of their shift, so regular were they in starting up. The whole valley echoed with their chirping for three minutes, and promptly at the signal everyone stopped work.

As well as cicada chrysalids, the Onges love the white larvae of the long-horned grasshoppers (Tettigonidae) which are common all over the island. They are the size of a man's finger and the larvae, like those of the cicadas, feed exclusively on vegetable matter and are very tasty. I have watched the Onges collecting them and managed to see something of the life cycle of the Longhorns. Both the larvae and the chrysalids live in cylindrical holes in trees, which the larvae bore out by eating at the wood. Before turning into a chrysalis the larva prepares the way out for the adult insect, which is less well adapted for gnawing. The chrysalids themselves seem determined to take up as little space as possible; as in all the Longhorns the future elytra are clearly visible on the creature's back, with the membranous wings, and the three pairs of legs are always curled up, with the first and second pairs very close to each other. The third pair is further away, clearly so as to balance the embryonic antennae. These are very long and spring from the sides of the head, passing down on either side of the thorax, between the first and second pairs of legs, to finish neatly coiled in front of the thorax, touching the elytra and the second pair of legs. Curled up like this into two or three coils, according to sex, the thread-like, whitish antennae look like intestinal worms inside the chrysalids. Each pair of legs lies motionless against the thorax, the feet touching in a precise line down the centre of the body. When the creature wakes from its long sleep, all the parts unfold, and the elytra and other external parts harden and colour according to the species. A new stage in the life cycle, shorter but more intense, has begun.

The Onges are not interested in the mole-crickets, but I found them fascinating. It is known that animals can find their nests or their usual haunts even if they are moved quite considerable distances away and deliberately confused, but the mechanism is not yet fully understood. It is likely that the same mechanism operates whether in the air, or on the ground, or below ground. The mole-cricket, for example digs long galleries underground and does not often come out into the open. The galleries are interconnected,

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build it (when I wanted to acquire two for the new anthropological museum at Port Blair and the Indian Museum in Calcutta I had to bargain with the men recognized as the owners, although the price had to be distributed among all the members of the group).

The chief delight of the men on their fishing trips is the capture of a Giant Turtle. I have already described (p. 88) the spear harpoons which the Onges use to catch them. Once caught, the wretched animals are subjected to a form of vivisection utterly incomprehensible to the Western mind; they are literally cut up alive and the pieces thrown into the boiling cooking-pot. Nor have I ever witnessed anything so terrible as the way in which the Onges, in the absence of any suitable cooking vessel, or the materials for an earth oven, roast these turtles whole and alive over a slow fire. They seem totally unable to realize that animals can feel pain and laugh like children at the other atrocious tortures they unwittingly inflict not only on the turtles, but on every living thing that falls into their hands.

These marine turtles (as far as I was able to see there were no land turtles in the Andamans) yield a far greater amount of food than the dugong, and provide the islanders with both meat and eggs. Two species are common in the seas round the islands, *Chelonia virgata*, or the green turtle, and *Caretta imbricata*, which supplies the shells normally sold commercially. The Onges prefer the former, which are both meaty and more plentiful.

Turtle-hunting and egg-collecting is done by the menfolk. The method is very like that used for dugong and large fish, using the harpoon. Owing to their fear of the spirits abroad in the night, the Onges never go near the beaches between dusk and dawn, when it would be easy to take the turtles on land and immobilize them by turning them on their backs. They do know this trick, however, and use it when captured turtles (often weighing up to a hundredweight) are too heavy to carry in the canoe; the animals are turned on their backs and dumped on the beach ready to pick up later.

The Onges harpoon the turtles from canoes, preferably at night when the turtles are nearing the shore, which they never approach in the day time. When there is a moon the creatures are easily seen, and on dark nights the phosphorescence of the sea helps.

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turning the turtle over on its back as soon as it is landed, and then blinding the wretched creature by putting both eyes out with a sharp stick, so that it cannot escape even if it manages to right itself.

Turtle eggs are easy to find. Before laying them in the sand about one metre deep, the turtle makes several visits about a fortnight beforehand to choose the spot. The huge footprints she leaves in the sand are easily seen, and watch is kept on the spot. When the Onges know roughly where to look they know that by poking in the sand with a stick they must in the end find the eggs. As one man, and happy as sandboys, they dig in the sand, lower and lower, till the sight of the first egg is greeted with a shout of triumph. One by one the eggs emerge to fill the baskets, hastily improvised and lined with great leaves.

The female may actually be seen depositing the eggs, up to two hundred at a time. Some will be infertile, and are smaller, with no yolk, but normally they are the size and shape of a billiard ball, deposited one after another at the rate of ten a minute. As they are laid a viscous secretion flows over them so that the sand sticks to them. As it dries, however, the sand can be rubbed off the shells, which are not rigid and resemble a shining white parchment; on each egg is a tiny round indentation, which increases in size within two or three days and makes the egg look as though it has shrivelled in the sun. In fact, the eggs will not hatch unless they remain buried deep in the sand.

Not more than half the turtle eggs laid in the Andamans hatch out into young turtles, so eager for them are man and beast alike. Man is their worst enemy, and it is no exaggeration to say that no clutch laid on Little Andaman has any hope of hatching. Man and animals alike range the beaches in search of the delicacy. First come the pigs, so greedy that if they come upon a female in the act of laying they give her no time even to cover the eggs. Then come the monitors, voracious lizards two metres long, and on the east coast near Nachuge, huge crocodiles as well. Finally, *Paradoxurus*, the wild cat of the Andamans, takes anything that is left.

The Onges have to compete with all these for turtle eggs, and they are nearly always too late. They have to look instead to the deserted islands, like the nearby South and North Brother. Here the young turtles have some chance of hatching, but as soon as they

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metres in diameter. They are now used for the holy water in the new church of San Piero in Palco, in Florence, like those in the church of St Sulpice in Paris. Two valves of *T. gigas*, rather smaller, are being used for the same purpose in the church of Marco Polo in Viareggio.

Among the creatures the Onges hunt on the shores are crayfish, which can be taken in plenty in the streams of Little Andaman, although I found none on Great Andaman or in the Nicobars. As they were so common I assumed they were a known species and did not bother to collect any. In Madras, however, an expert on freshwater crustacea, Sri Sada Siva, told me that this appeared to be a new species and it would be well worth while returning to Little Andaman to collect further specimens, as the few I had brought are now lost. There are tens of thousands of them everywhere.

These freshwater crayfish are so tasty that they have entered into Onge folklore, and their tastiness is praised in song. They are baked on burning embers, without salt, as always, and just the charred shell is removed before they are eaten. The clean fresh water in which they live prevents any taint in the flavour. I must confess to having eaten them every day without realizing their importance as a possible new species. They are fairly large, about fifteen centimetres long, and almost black, in natural imitation of the dark rocks among which they try to vanish out of sight, although the Onges never fail to spot them. The males have slender pereiopods, with claws almost twice as long as the whole body; these the creatures thrust out before them, and so slender are they that it is difficult to catch a male with both pereiopods intact. After hatching, the young, which are identical with the adults as soon as they hatch and can therefore be sexed by the presence and absence of pereiopods, cling bunched together for several weeks, attached by their claws to their mother's swimmerets before making their way into the troubled waters of the rivers, where the great carp are waiting to prey on them.

Yet another freshwater creature eagerly sought by the Onges is one that is almost black in colour, a strange survival of some remote geological era. Like other members of the family it has no scales, and the mouth, armed with teeth, is not protractile. On Little Andaman I saw several specimens weighing over a kilogram, and

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136 many smaller ones, all good to eat. Near my base camp at Labanar,
[222] the men caught sackfuls of them, and I found young ones near the communal hut at Togalanghe.

There a rocky path winds down to the banks of the river Tciongarè (or Chongaree) to the south of the camp. In various places, where the path levels out, black muddy water collects into pools full of rotting leaves, lying on a bed of ooze and slime. In these pools, which appear and dry up again very quickly, I was surprised to catch a number of *silurides*. When it rains heavily, however, the pools link and join up with the river where the fish live, so that as the water disappears again any fish which have entered the pools are prevented from returning to the river, and are left lying in the slime as the water evaporates. These silurides have no gills, and are equipped instead with nostrils of an unusual type; from the nostrils protrude two cylindrical tubes, half a centimetre long in fish fifteen centimetres long, the same blackish colour as the rest of the body. The tail and the long dorsal fin are yellowish, and the long ventral fin running from the anus to the tail is whitish. There are two large lateral pectoral fins, with two very small ones between them. The eyes are large, starting out of the head like tiny glass domes. Very unfortunately a number of specimens which I had most carefully preserved were lost in transit from Port Blair to Calcutta, when some of my baggage, including the crabs and a collection of face masks of Nicobarese which had cost me a great deal of trouble, mysteriously disappeared *en route*.

136 The Onges do not eat eels,[1] which they regard as snakes, but they
262 several times brought me examples of a very fine freshwater eel
226 whose presence on Little Andaman I had not suspected. The Onges caught them, as they do all fish, with their bows and arrows. All weighed over half a kilogram and looked and tasted like European eels.

136 The eel of the Andamans, like those of Europe and America, has a long, almost cylindrical body and a single fin which begins on the back, circles the tail, and ends under the body just in front of the anus. There is also a pair of strong pectoral fins. The head distinguishes it from other eels, its rounded snout and wide mouth being

[184] [1] The Arioto, however, eat eels, and also mice and other small animals, although food is given to them by the Governor in return for police duties. Brown also refers to the eating of snakes and mice on Great Andaman.

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252 372 824 787 222 their love of existing with as little effort as possible is paramount. Since any wood is as good as the next for making a fire, the spirits conveniently have nothing to say in the matter. In other circumstances material considerations lead to quite the opposite effect: when the Onges dig up roots or tubers they not only replace the earth, but cover the place with leaves, the ritual having the good practical objective of appeasing the spirits and ensuring further supplies.

171 224 The preservation of skulls for magical purposes or out of pure superstition survives mainly in Asia and Oceania. In Asia it coincides with other beliefs which demand the killing of domestic animals by strangulation. I have seen this practised along the high reaches of the valley of the Brahmaputra, particularly among the Abor, and the Nagas, and in many other tribes to the south of Tibet and China, all of whom preserve skulls. Head-hunting, found throughout southern Asia, in the islands, and as far as Oceania, is also practised in the areas where animal skulls are preserved.

171 The preservation of animal skulls, particularly bear skulls, is still practised in mongoloid peoples as far as the north of Asia; apart from the Andamans and the Nicobars, human and animal bones are preserved in many parts of Indonesia and as far as New Guinea. In the corona of small islands along the west coast of Sumatra the custom coincides with many others, as well as with certain types of huts and canoes, all present in the Andamans and Nicobars. A good example are the huts raised up off the ground on stilts, common in the Nicobars, Nias, Engano, Mentawai and various parts of Indonesia. The single-boom canoes of these areas, quite apart from their general similarity of structure, all have certain identical features, even to the method of fixing the lateral float of green wood, with pointed hardwood pegs stuck in it like spills. This, again, cannot be due to chance; it must be the effect of a very ancient cultural diffusion, now surviving only in a few specific areas.

224 531 462 The skulls preserved by the Onges have one point of interest; it is the duty of the wife to clean the trophies brought back by her proud husband and then paint them lovingly with lines of ochre. After every successful hunting expedition the wives can be seen busily painting, while the husbands look on with satisfaction.